

ANGELA COREY'S

Dirty Dozen



**Corporations, Big Business,
and the Mass Incarceration
Regime in Jacksonville, FL**

By Dave Schneider

Forward

This paper you have in front of you is the product of nearly two years worth of research and effort. I began researching Angela Corey in the summer of 2013, and I began writing this paper at the start of the summer of 2014. Originally I wrote it as a “class analysis” of Jacksonville with a particular focus on Corey's supporters. After months of revisions, I scrapped the whole structure of the paper and went back to square one.

In spring 2014, the Jacksonville Progressive Coalition (JPC) launched a campaign to pressure Corey out of office. This campaign developed directly out of our experience organizing for justice for Trayvon Martin, Jordan Davis and Marissa Alexander – all cases involving Corey. These campaigns brought us into contact with hundreds of families ripped apart by mass incarceration and racist police crimes. It became clear that the people wanted Corey gone, and we intend to make that a reality.

Every so often, people question our campaign and claim that we're focusing too much energy on one political figure. After all, if we believe the system of mass incarceration in this country – a system Ohio State University law professor Michelle Alexander calls the “New Jim Crow” – would exist regardless of who gets elected, why direct our energy at removing Corey? Isn't she just one cog in the machine?

I wrote this paper precisely to answer that question. They're right. Corey is just one politician – a particularly nasty one, albeit – and even if she gets replaced, Blacks and Latinos will continue to suffer under this system of racism and national oppression. We won't win that struggle until we do away with the system entirely, and you can't do away with the system through the ballot box.

Right now in Jacksonville in 2015, Angela Corey sits at the helm of the New Jim Crow in Jacksonville. She has never once indicted a cop for unlawful use of force, despite dozens of police killings during her tenure. She charges more juvenile offenders as adults – and more Black juveniles than white, at that – than any other part of the state of Florida. She puts out rhetoric about her concern for the victims of crime, but she relentlessly persecutes Marissa Alexander, a very real victim of domestic abuse who stood her ground. Her many offenses against the people are too numerous to list.

And while Corey is just one politician, she is a carefully selected representative of the capitalist class. Like the police, Corey is a tool for big business and corporations to beat down the people in order to secure their interests. The struggle against Corey isn't just a struggle against the State Attorney's office. It's a struggle against the ruling class interests that put Corey in power and benefit from the misery and horror she inflicts on the Black community.

If we ever do force her out, we would have to challenge her replacement too. And their replacement. And their replacement. Until we break the chains of racism and national oppression in the U.S. South and replace it with a people's government, our work as organizers must continue.

Freedom in our lifetime.

Angela Corey & Mass Incarceration in Jacksonville

Angela Corey is the state attorney for Florida's 4th Judicial Circuit Court, which encompasses Duval, Nassau and Clay counties. She was elected in 2008, facing only a challenger in the Republican primary, and re-elected in 2012 unopposed. On May 28, 2015, Corey filed to run for a third term as state attorney and kicked off her campaign less than a week later.

Corey's election as state attorney in 2008 signaled a nightmarish new time for the racist system of mass incarceration in Jacksonville. On her own website, she brags “that during 2013 – 2014, the SAO sent twice as many people to prison than Miami did,” and that her office “also tripled Tampa’s numbers.”¹

Far and away, Corey's 4th Judicial Circuit leads the state of Florida in direct commitment of juvenile offenders, most of whom are African-American.² From 2009 to 2013, Corey's office incarcerated 1,475 juveniles in the Jacksonville area alone, compared to just 32 in Miami during the same period.³ In nearly four out of five of those cases, Corey threatened the juvenile defendant with being charged as an adult in order to coerce a plea deal, since adult charges carry harsher penalties.⁴ These abusive legal practices are a weapon of class war on the poor and working class youth, who often are forced into taking plea deals for lack of decent legal representation. After copping a plea, these kids will carry the label “felon” the rest of their lives – a label that will hurt their job prospects, their ability to get decent housing and their right to vote.⁵

While the criminal injustice system in Florida and the United States disproportionately incarcerates Black and Latino people, the situation in Jacksonville under Corey is even more disastrous. In the entire state of Florida from 2006 to 2011, 52% of the male juvenile offenders tried as adults were Black, while white male juveniles comprised only 25% of those tried as adults.⁶ These inequalities alone are staggering, but in Corey's 4th Judicial District during the same period, Black males comprised 70% of all juvenile offenders tried as adults, while white males comprised just 18%.⁷

In 2012, Corey became nationally notorious for her involvement in three high-profile cases involving African-Americans: the February 2012 murder of 17 year-old Trayvon Martin by racist vigilante George Zimmerman; the November 2012 murder of 16 year-old Jordan Davis by another racist vigilante, Michael Dunn; and the May 2012 prosecution of African-American mother Marissa Alexander, who fired a warning shot in the air to fend off her abusive husband. These cases catapulted Corey to national infamy and fueled a people's campaign to remove her from office – the Angela Corey Out Now campaign.

¹ State Attorney's Office for the Fourth Judicial Circuit, Official Website, 2015, “Justice Promised, Justice Delivered,” <http://sao4th.com/justice-promised-justice-delivered/>

² Human Rights Watch, “Branded for Life: Florida's Persecution of Children as Adults under its 'Direct File' Statute,” April 2014, <http://bit.ly/1hDLLqT>

³ Topher Sanders, *The Florida Times Union*, “Angela Corey's office threatens Jacksonville area juveniles with adult charges, Matt Shirk and private attorneys say,” February 1, 2014, <http://bit.ly/MMZcfZ>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Michelle Alexander, Ohio State University School of Law, 2012, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*.

⁶ Human Rights Watch, “Branded for Life: Florida's Persecution of Children as Adults under its 'Direct File' Statute,” April 2014, <http://bit.ly/1hDLLqT>

⁷ Ibid.

Corey's office grossly mishandled the prosecution of Zimmerman, who was found not-guilty on all charges, including murder, in July 2013. In February 2014, history seemingly repeated itself as Corey failed to secure a murder conviction of Dunn, who was convicted on other charges. Facing mass pressure from protesters, Corey retried Dunn on the first-degree murder charge and won a conviction.

On the other hand, Corey relentlessly prosecuted Marissa Alexander for firing a warning shot in the air to defend herself from domestic abuse for nearly four years. Alexander was denied protection under Florida's Stand Your Ground law and was convicted of aggravated assault with a deadly weapon in May 2012. Corey personally prosecuted Alexander and obtained a 20-year prison sentence for the African-American mother under Florida's mandatory minimum laws. While the Zimmerman and Dunn trials left the jury deliberating for several days due to the prosecution's inability to clarify the major issues, the jury in Alexander's case returned a guilty verdict in 12 minutes.⁸ Alexander's conviction was overturned on March 1, 2014 by a 1st District Court of Appeals judge, but Corey pushed to retry her, this time asking for a 60-year prison sentence.

Alexander's case took a surprising turn on November 24, 2014, when she accepted a plea deal offered by Corey's office. The deal offered significantly reduced jail time – 65 days versus 60 years – but it still left Alexander stripped of her rights. Within the context of present-day Jacksonville, Alexander's plea deal was a defeat – not a victory – for Corey and the criminal injustice system. The greatly reduced jail time was offered by Corey from a place of weakness, knowing that her narrative had lost credibility with the general public. For this, we can thank the organizers and activists who built a nationwide movement to free Alexander. Corey won a conviction, but it was on weaker ground than she wanted precisely because of the pressure that activists and organizers put on her office.

Listing all of Corey's racist prosecution practices, corrupt dealings and offenses against the people could fill a whole book. Instead, this paper is about the class interests that Corey serves. In the U.S., the election system works according to the “golden rule”: if you want to know who rules, follow the gold.⁹ Like most of the politicians in the U.S., Corey serves the interests of the corporations, big business, and the wealthy – in other words, the capitalist class. Along with the police, she is the enforcer of the system of racism and national oppression in Jacksonville for the ruling class.

If we hope to win this struggle against Corey and her mass incarceration regime in Jacksonville, we have to build a people's movement. This takes hard-work, tireless organizing, faith in the people to change history, and time. The Black Lives Matter movement nationally has raised a new generation of activists and organizers dedicated to ending the New Jim Crow system of mass incarceration and police crimes in the US. As this paper will demonstrate, Corey's mass incarceration regime and the racist police crimes that take place every day in Jacksonville are not two separate issues – they're a single, united entity working hand-in-glove to terrorize the Black community and poor people in general.

Defeating Angela Corey requires a sober assessment of who really rules in our society. Is it Corey, or is it the wealthy class of capitalists, big business owners and corporations she represents? We have to take on that class and see the struggle against Corey as a struggle against the system of racism and national oppression in the U.S. as a whole.

⁸ *Fight Back! News*, “Florida State Attorney Corey seeks 60-year sentence for Marissa Alexander,” March 2, 2014, <http://bit.ly/1uyptBq>

⁹ Thomas Ferguson, The Roosevelt Institute, 1994, *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Politics and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems*.

Below, I present Angela Corey's "Dirty Dozen." These are the 12 most scandalous supporters of Corey. The reader is asked to note that they are not necessarily the biggest financial supporters of Corey, though some of them are. Many of them are household names. Most are giant businesses or entities. These are 12 backers of Corey's mass incarceration regime that give us a good look into the system we struggle against. They need to be exposed, and they need to be fought.

The list is arranged in descending order from number 12 to number 1. While I chose to organize the paper in this way to build suspense, the entire paper flows in this order. Later entries reference earlier entries on the list. In other words, I encourage the reader to read the paper in order.

This paper draws heavily on financial contribution data from Corey's 2008 campaign, which was the last time before now that she had an opponent. As such, it shows us who supported Corey during her one and only competitive election to date.

In looking at older data, I ask the reader to note that \$500 was the highest amount any single individual or entity could donate to a candidate for state attorney in 2008. When the Jacksonville Progressive Coalition introduced the "Dirty Dozen" list on social media last spring, we received questions from people about donation amounts, which seemed small or insignificant. Campaign finance laws changed substantially since 2008 – the *Citizens United* Supreme Court decision being one of the largest changes. However, a \$500 donation represents the maximum donation an individual could legally give Corey in 2008. In other words, someone giving Corey \$500 in 2008 was "all-in" for her campaign.

It's my hope that organizers in Jacksonville and across the U.S. can use this document to build the struggle against racism and national oppression. Without further ado, here are Angela Corey's "Dirty Dozen."

12. Firehouse Subs

Firehouse Subs, the fast-food chain that got its start in Jacksonville, has provided an increasingly large amount of financial support to Corey since she ran for State Attorney in 2008. This isn't entirely surprising for a company like Firehouse Subs, which has a long history of supporting right-wing candidates and political causes. Data compiled by *Influence Explorer* found that Firehouse Subs has donated approximately \$167,500 to Republican candidates from its founding in 1994 to 2014, over 98% of its total political contributions.¹⁰ Corey falls right in line with their far-right political outlook.

While it wasn't Angela Corey's largest donor, Firehouse Subs LLC and its associated businesses gave Angela Corey at least \$3,500 for the 2008 campaign.¹¹ Chris and Robin Sorensen, who founded Firehouse Subs in 1994, along with their families, gave Corey at least an additional \$1,000 for the campaign.¹² Former City Council President Stephen Joost, who is listed on Firehouse Subs' website as a "Partner," gave Corey at least \$500 – unsurprising, given Joost's tenure as a far-right city politician.¹³

In the 2016 campaign cycle alone, Firehouse Subs Inc. (renamed since 2008) and its associated businesses have already given Corey \$4,000 in contributions.¹⁴ Chris and Robin Sorensen, and their families, have already given an additional \$4,000 to Corey. Firehouse Subs as a whole has already given Corey at least \$8,000 for the 2016 election, and with more than a year left in the campaign, their support will likely continue to pour in.

11. G4S (Formerly the Wackenhut Corporation)

G4S, formerly the Wackenhut Corporation, is the world's largest private security company. In Florida, they have an integral role in the system of mass incarceration, particularly as it affects juveniles. Every single juvenile corrections facility in Florida is privately operated, meaning these facilities are not run by the state and therefore avoid most government oversight.¹⁵ Shockingly, G4S operates 28 of the 55 – just over 50% – juvenile correctional facilities in Florida including some in Corey's 4th Judicial Circuit.¹⁶ ¹⁷ Their most recent five-year contract with the state of Florida for operating juvenile detention facilities is worth over \$40 million.¹⁸

While it was still called Wackenhut, the private security giant donated \$500 to Corey's 2008

¹⁰ *Influence Explorer*, Operated by the Sunlight Foundation, Accessed under "Groups," "Firehouse Subs," Accessed 9/4/2015, <http://influenceexplorer.com/organization/firehouse-subs/6fbd33867bf543808fd927e666d678da>

¹¹ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/4/2015

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2016 General Election, Angela B. Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/4/2015

¹⁵ Eli Hager, *Vice*, Co-Published with *the Marshall Project*, March 24, 2015, "Florida Is by Far the Worst State for Kids Up Against the Law," <http://www.vice.com/read/florida-is-by-far-the-worst-state-for-kids-up-against-the-law-324>

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *RT*, July 27, 2015, "Florida youth detention center 'should cease to exist' due to extensive problems – report," <http://www.rt.com/usa/310904-florida-juvenile-center-report/>

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

campaign.¹⁹ Roger Sulimirski, the Jacksonville G4S General Manager, donated \$500 to Corey as well.²⁰ G4S also contributes articles and support to the Justice Coalition (mentioned later), which functions as Corey's propaganda arm in the community.²¹

G4S makes super profits from private prisons and the mass incarceration of juveniles, particularly in Florida. They have an incredibly large financial interest in backing Corey, whose 4th judicial circuit leads the state of Florida in direct commitment of juvenile offenders, and other state attorneys like her. In its most recent five-year contract with the state of Florida, G4S “receives a 9 percent annual profit from the deal – or \$800,000 a year – and is expected to meet specific performance goals, one of which is a 49 percent recidivism rate for released youth.”²² In other words, G4S needs a state attorney who will keep pumping juveniles into their correction facilities. They have a stated contractual goal for almost half of all juvenile inmates to re-offend and get sent back to their facilities.

For her part, Corey has risen to the task. From 2009 to 2013, Corey's office incarcerated 1,475 juveniles in the Jacksonville area alone, compared to just 32 in Miami during the same period.²³ In nearly four out of five of those cases, Corey threatened the juvenile defendant with being charged as an adult in order to coerce a plea deal, since adult charges carry harsher penalties.²⁴ The terror that Corey inflicts on juveniles, particularly Black juveniles, directly benefits G4S in the form of greater profits.

In addition to its own financial interests in mass incarceration, the Wackenhut Corporation also gave birth to GEO Group, the second-largest private prison corporation in the United States. The two companies maintain a close relationship today, and both profit obscenely from mass incarceration in the U.S., particularly in Florida.

10. SafeTouch Security Systems

SafeTouch Inc. and its subsidiaries, which became the premiere security service providers for Florida in the late 2000s, invested \$2,000 in Corey's 2008 campaign.²⁵ To understand why SafeTouch and other security companies, like Ossi Security Systems, have an interest in Corey, we need look no further than Lestor Jackson, who founded SafeTouch in 1995. An article from the Jacksonville Business Journal on Jackson quotes him: “SafeTouch, Florida's largest privately held security company, flourishes in tight economic times, Jackson said. 'When the economy is slow, crime goes up.’”²⁶

As it pertains to Jacksonville, Jackson is wrong, at least in recent history. The crime rate in Jacksonville peaked in 2007 – a year before the Great Recession – and actually declined in 2008, a year

¹⁹ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/4/2015

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ G4S North America Safety Committee, *Victims' Advocate*, July 2013, Vol. 19, Number 4, “Safety Matters: Ever Alert, Always Safe,” pg. 6, <http://issuu.com/justicecoalition/docs/july2013binder>

²² RT, July 27, 2015, “Florida youth detention center ‘should cease to exist’ due to extensive problems – report,” <http://www.rt.com/usa/310904-florida-juvenile-center-report/>

²³ Topher Sanders, *The Florida Times Union*, “Angela Corey's office threatens Jacksonville area juveniles with adult charges, Matt Shirk and private attorneys say,” February 1, 2014, <http://bit.ly/MMZcfZ>

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 7/20/2014

²⁶ Devan Stuart, *Jacksonville Business Journal*, October 7, 2002, “Jackson's safe bet?,” <http://bit.ly/1jQwycG>

before Corey took office.²⁷ Since that time, crime rates have continued to decline in Jacksonville.²⁸ Despite declining crime rates, SafeTouch and other security system companies still make higher profits during these times.²⁹ They do this by catering to the general fear of crime among the wealthy and middle class sections of Jacksonville – whether crime actually increases or not.

Corey and the JSO fuel this perception that drives demand for SafeTouch's product. One need only look at the unfounded hysteria that Corey and the JSO have stirred up around so-called “gangs” in Jacksonville to see this in action.³⁰

In this sense, SafeTouch and Corey's interests are aligned. Both benefit from a widespread perception of rampant crime. SafeTouch sells more security systems and makes higher profits, while Corey gets more campaign donations and votes. Especially in the South, this narrative of rampant crime accompanies a racist criminalization of Black people, which gives Corey the ideological cover to terrorize the Black community with harsh sentences and vicious prosecution.

9. BlueCross BlueShield

BlueCross BlueShield is Florida's largest health insurer. While the corporation itself made only a single \$500 donation to Corey's 2008 campaign, cross-referencing addresses and names of executives reveals more far-reaching support.³¹ Mike Hightower, a BlueCross executive and leader in the Duval County Republican Party, also donated \$500 in 2008, as did Bridget Booth, another Blue Cross executive.³² Two other people with Booth's last name and address also donated \$500 and \$100 to the 2008 campaign, which was likely an extension of Booth's support.³³

Hightower's prominent role in the local Republican Party partially explains his interest in supporting Corey, a fellow conservative Republican. However, other financial interests for the insurance giant he runs come into play when we look at Corey's larger base of support.

BlueCross BlueShield is the health insurance provider for the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), both nationally and locally.³⁴ In Jacksonville, the FOP represents all of the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office (JSO) officers, meaning that BlueCross BlueShield provides health insurance to the over 3,300 people who work in JSO. Given that JSO is one of the twenty largest employers in northeast Florida – employing over 3,300 people – this account is significant for BlueCross locally, and it aligns their

²⁷ City-data.com, 2015, “Crime rate in Jacksonville, Florida (FL): murders, rapes, robberies, assaults, burglaries, thefts, auto thefts, arson, law enforcement employees, police officers, crime map,” <http://www.city-data.com/crime/crime-Jacksonville-Florida.html>

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Devan Stuart, *Jacksonville Business Journal*, October 7, 2002, “Jackson's safe bet?,” <http://bit.ly/1jQwycG>

³⁰ Kent Justice, *News4Jax*, June 8, 2015, “State Attorney Angela Corey aims to curb violent crime in Jacksonville,” <http://www.news4jax.com/news/state-attorney-angela-corey-aims-to-curb-violent-crime-in-jacksonville/33473120>

³¹ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/4/2015

³² Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Dale Zimmerman, College of DuPage, “Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) Summary of Benefits,” June 2014, https://cod.edu/about/humanresources/pdf/fop_summary_of_benefits.pdf

financial interests with the police.³⁵ As we will see later, the police and Angela Corey function as a single entity, which provides one possible explanation of a material incentive for BlueCross BlueShield's support for Corey.

8. Stellar (The Stellar Group)

Stellar (The Stellar Group) is a privately owned design, engineering, construction and mechanical services corporation headquartered in Jacksonville, FL. In 2013, Stellar was Florida's 60th largest company, making it a particularly large and influential corporation in the city of Jacksonville.³⁶ The construction giant heads up a number of public sector building projects, including the lodging at Fort Benning in Georgia and design/construction of several fire stations around Jacksonville.³⁷

Stellar and its associated companies gave at least \$3,500 to Angela Corey's 2008 campaign.³⁸ Corey received further donations from executives and leaders in Stellar, including Ronald H. Foster, Scott V. Witt, Richard Lovelace – and his family.³⁹ These three executives and their families alone contributed an additional \$2,000 to Corey's 2008 campaign, bringing the total known contributions to Corey's 2008 campaign from Stellar and its associates to \$5,500.

For Stellar, Corey falls in line with their company's general right-wing political orientation. In 2015 alone, the Stellar Group gave the Republican Party of Florida \$20,000 and \$10,000 to Building a Better Economy PC, a political action committee (PAC) that lists Jax Chamber of Commerce President Daniel Davis as its chairperson and treasurer.^{40 41}

Pinning down Stellar's precise motivations for giving to Corey is difficult. The company's campaign contribution records show that they are fairly selective in the candidates they support, meaning that Stellar particularly liked Corey enough to give her several thousand dollars. Activists should question Stellar about the reasons for its support, and future research should examine at the relationship between construction companies and the police.

7. WW Gay Mechanical Contractors, Inc.

W.W. Gay Mechanical Contractor Inc. is a Jacksonville-based plumbing, HVAC and industrial

³⁵ JaxUSA Partnership for Regional Economic Development, "Northeast Florida Region Large Employers," May 2011, <http://bit.ly/1q5yoUb>

³⁶ *Florida Trend*, July 1, 2013, "Florida Trend's 200 Biggest Private Companies," <http://www.floridatrend.com/article/15792/floridas-top-private-companies>

³⁷ Stellar.Net, Company Website, Public Sector Projects, <http://www.stellar.net/projects.aspx?fi=1409>, Accessed 9/9/15.

³⁸ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions from: Last Name: Stellar, All Elections, Dates from: 01/01/2006 – 9/9/2015, Accessed 9/9/2015.

⁴¹ Although the overwhelming majority of Stellar's campaign contributions since 2006 have gone to Republicans, it bears mention that the company deviated from its norm in 2010. Like many typically right-wing groups in the 2010 election, Stellar supported Alex Sink, the Democrats' candidate for governor, over Rick Scott, the dark horse billionaire who practically bought the Republican nomination for governor. As part of this, they have \$10,000 to the Florida Democratic Party. Given that other right-wing groups, like the Fraternal Order of Police, endorsed Sink over Scott in 2010, this does not contradict the company's general right-wing political orientation.

contractor giant. Founded in 1962, the mechanical contractor giant sprawls all over Florida and into the other southern states, making an estimated annual revenue of anywhere between \$50 million and \$100 million. Their presence in Jacksonville proves especially lucrative when it comes to government building contracts. For instance, in 2009 the City Council awarded a contract valued at \$25 million to W.W. Gay Mechanical Contractor, Inc. for construction on the new Duval County Courthouse, which was the largest in the United States at the time of completion in 2012.⁴²

W.W. Gay Mechanical Contractor Inc. and its associated companies have invested thousands of dollars into Corey as state attorney – a trend that continues to this day. For Corey's 2008 campaign, W.W. Gay Mechanical Contractor Inc. and its associated companies (Florida Mechanical Systems, Alpha Equipment Sales & Rentals, etc.) gave her at least \$2,500.⁴³ For Corey's current 2016 campaign for re-election, W.W. Gay and Florida Mechanical Systems have already given her \$2,000, more than a year before the election.⁴⁴

It bears mentioning that founder William W. Gay is a well-known right-winger who financially backs Republican candidates all over the country, which politically aligns him with Corey. Like BlueCross BlueShield, though, this ring of mechanical contracting giants have financial interests in Corey separate from her party affiliation.

As mentioned before, W.W. Gay landed the giant Duval County Courthouse construction contract in 2009. More recently, W.W. Gay and its associated companies landed major roles in the construction of the new state attorney's office building – a renovation project valued at almost \$26 million.⁴⁵ While no evidence exists to say that Corey had a role in W.W. Gay landing the project, the construction and renovation of new facilities related to the criminal injustice system in Duval County has yielded several multi-million dollar contracts for these companies.

Outside of elections, W.W. Gay and its associated companies support Corey and her mass incarceration regime through the Justice Coalition, which is discussed below.

6. Justice Coalition

The Justice Coalition is a so-called victims advocate non-profit in Jacksonville, whose list of donors aligns closely with Angela Corey's campaign donors. For instance, W.W. Gay Mechanical Contractor Inc., Firehouse Subs, Blue Cross / Blue Shield, SafeTouch Security Systems, the Fraternal Order of Police, J.B. Coxwell Contracting, Barco-Duval Engineering Inc. and Circle-K Furniture all give heavily to the Justice Coalition and donated heavily to Corey's 2008 campaign.⁴⁶ Many of those same names on the Justice Coalition's list of sponsors have already given to Corey's 2016 re-election campaign.

⁴² Jeff Keith, "Project: New Duval County Courthouse," July 11, 2013, Company Website, W.W. Gay Mechanical Contractor, Inc., Accessed 8/11/2014, <http://www.wwgmc.com/blog/projects/project-new-duval-county-courthouse/>

⁴³ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015

⁴⁴ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2016 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015

⁴⁵ Max Marbut, *Jax Daily Record*, November 21, 2013, "State Attorney's Office project on schedule," http://www.jaxdailyrecord.com/showstory.php?Story_id=541110

⁴⁶ "How You Can Help," Justice Coalition website, accessed 7/12/2014, http://www.justicecoalition.org/new_can_help.htm

The Justice Coalition functions as the non-profit arm of Corey's mass incarceration regime. They distribute police and state propaganda during non-election years through their newsletter, *Victims' Advocate*. This thinly veiled propaganda features columns written by Corey and her allies, one-sided articles on crime in Jacksonville, and a disturbing subsection which features the names and mugshots of men and women – mostly women, who are statistically the most likely to be forced into sex work involuntarily – arrested for prostitution.^{47 48}

Although *Victims' Advocate* claims to be non-political, they advance the message and agenda of Corey and the powers behind her mass incarceration regime. The Justice Coalition's newsletter serves as a sounding board for Corey's lies and justifications for terrorizing Jacksonville's Black community. In September 2013, *Victims' Advocate* featured a full-page column by Corey called, "The Truth About the Marissa Alexander Case," which tried to justify the State Attorney's racist obsessive prosecution of the 33 year-old African-American mother.⁴⁹ Like the acquittal of George Zimmerman in his trial for the murder of Trayvon Martin, Alexander's case put Corey in the hot seat nationally as a ruthlessly oppressive prosecutor who isn't committed to justice for Black victims.

Victims' Advocate is also supported by massive corporations, like Wal-Mart, McDonalds and Gate Petroleum.⁵⁰ These corporations, along with countless other businesses, distribute *Victims' Advocate* for free at their Jacksonville stores. Far from apolitical interest in law and order, these corporations understand that racist prosecutors like Corey act on behalf of the entire capitalist class. Distributing her propaganda widely throughout the city using their network of stores is their way of contributing to her mass incarceration regime.

5. The Sleiman Family

The Sleimans are an incredibly wealthy family in Jacksonville that specializes in commercial and real estate development in north Florida. They own the Landing in downtown, along with countless shopping centers and neighborhood developments in and around Duval County. With this amount of wealth comes a high degree of political influence, manifested most recently in Peter Sleiman – a man who claimed a net worth of \$45 million⁵¹ – sitting on the Police and Fire Pension Fund as a trustee.

Corey received several thousand dollars in campaign donations from the Sleiman family. The Peter Sleiman Development Group, along with other members of the Sleiman family and associated individuals, gave Corey at least \$2,500 for her 2008 campaign.⁵² For the 2016 campaign, members of

⁴⁷ "Understanding Juvenile Drug Court," Angela Corey, The Justice Coalition's *Victims' Advocate*, Vol 20, Number 4, July 2014, pg. 1, http://www.justicecoalition.org/newspaper/July2014/JULY_VA_pg-1.pdf

⁴⁸ The Justice Coalition's *Victims' Advocate*, October 2012, pg. 14, http://justicecoalition.org/newspaper/October2012/OCT_VA_pg-14.pdf

⁴⁹ "The Truth about the Marissa Alexander Case," Angela Corey, The Justice Coalition's *Victims' Advocate*, September 2013, http://www.justicecoalition.org/newspaper/September2013/VA_SEP-pg-9.pdf

⁵⁰ The Justice Coalition's *Victims' Advocate*, March 2009, pg. 3, <http://bit.ly/1jCOzeI>

⁵¹ Curtis Lee, Published by Patricia M. McBride, *First Coast Tea Party*, April 8, 2012, "Why Peter Sleiman is still a Police & Fire Pension Fund (PFPF) Trustee," <http://firstcoastteaparty.ning.com/profiles/blogs/why-peter-sleiman-is-still-a-police-fire-pension-fund-pfpf>

⁵² Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015. The \$2,500 number is derived from adding the contributions from the following individuals: SLEIMAN TONEY (\$500), SLEIMAN BONNIE (\$500), PETER SLEIMAN DEVELOPMENT GROUP (\$500), and

the Sleiman family have contributed at least \$1,500 to Corey's re-election campaign.⁵³

Corey and the Sleimans maintain a close well-documented relationship. Recently, this relationship came under fire when a local judge ruled that Corey broke public records law by withholding key documents about Peter Sleiman's role on the Police and Fire Pension Fund (PFPF).

Despite the looming crisis of underfunding, the PFPF has approximately \$1.39 billion in financial assets, much of which is invested in real estate.⁵⁴ Peter Sleiman was appointed to the PFPF in the mid-2000s. For the real estate developer giants like the Sleimans, having a seat on the PFPF could provide an avenue to influence the placement and scope of investments, particularly in real estate. In 2010, Peter Sleiman resigned from the pension fund after facing opposition by the City Council and allegations of willfully breaking residency laws.⁵⁵

When Corey was asked to investigate the fund, particularly Peter Sleiman's role on it, by former attorney Curtis Lee, she backlogged public records requests and tried to intimidate Lee.⁵⁶ To discourage further investigation, Corey's office send two armed investigators to Lee's home and told him "that they would not indict Mr. Sleiman and that Mr. Lee should therefore stop contacting the SAO."^{57 58} For this and other adverse actions taken against Lee, Judge Karen Cole ruled that Corey's office broke public records law.

This slap on the wrist, deserved as it may be, fundamentally changes nothing about the political cover that Corey provides to the Sleimans. They back her campaign financially and support her propaganda efforts in the community. In exchange, Corey looks the other way on their financial and political activities, even when confronted by citizens and a local judge.

4. BBVA Compass (Formerly Compass Bank)

Compass Bank was a financial institution based in the U.S. South. In 2007, Compass Bank was acquired by Banco Bilbao Vizcaya Argentaria (BBVA), a Spanish bank, and became BBVA Compass. Compass, prior to becoming BBVA, made 15 separate donations to Corey's 2008 campaign, totaling \$7,469.13. No other bank or financial institution of a comparable size donated to Corey on this level.

two individuals with their addresses listed as "1 SLEIMAN PARKWAY," which is the address of Sleiman Enterprises - HEEKIN ROBERT A (\$500), CONSIDINE TRACY J (\$500).

⁵³ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2016 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015. The \$1,500 number is derived from adding together the contributions of two individuals: SLEIMAN BONNIE (\$750), SLEIMAN TONEY (\$750).

⁵⁴ David Bauerlein, *Florida-Times Union*, January 2, 2015, "Jacksonville Police and Fire Pension Fund sees double-digit year for investments," <http://jacksonville.com/news/metro/2015-01-02/story/police-and-fire-pension-fund-sees-another-double-digit-year-investments>

⁵⁵ Abel Harding, *Florida Times-Union*, December 16, 2010, "Peter Sleiman resigns from Jacksonville's Police and Fire Pension Fund board," <http://jacksonville.com/opinion/blog/403455/abel-harding/2010-12-16/peter-sleiman-resigns-jacksonvilles-police-and-fire>

⁵⁶ Andrew Pantazi, *Florida Times-Union*, August 11, 2014, "Judge: State Attorney Angela Corey's office broke public records law."

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Curtis Lee, Published by Patricia M. McBride, *First Coast Tea Party*, April 8, 2012, "Why Peter Sleiman is still a Police & Fire Pension Fund (PFPF) Trustee," <http://firstcoastteaparty.ning.com/profiles/blogs/why-peter-sleiman-is-still-a-police-fire-pension-fund-pfpf>

The Allied Veterans scandal with the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) sheds light on one possible reason for the seemingly random support Corey received from every Compass Bank branch in Jacksonville. In March 2013, FOP President Nelson Cuba was arrested along with FOP Vice President Robbie Freitas for their involvement in a racketeering scandal involving internet cafe gambling. Cuba and Freitas were involved heavily in the quasi-legal internet cafe gambling industry in Florida, whose proceeds must mostly go towards approved charities. The nominal charity recipient of these cafes, Allied Veterans of the World, donated less than 2% of its \$290 million revenues from these internet cafes.

An article by Marilyn Young of *Financial News & Daily Record* called, “The Allied Veterans case against Nelson Cuba and Robbie Freitas,” explains how Cuba involved BBVA Compass in its operation (underlining is mine):

“Then there was the Internet cafe affiliate, one of five partially operated by Cuba and Freitas, which made deposits totaling \$464,295 into a Jacksonville FOP Foundation account at Bank of America. Cuba then wrote six checks totaling \$420,000 that were deposited in a Jacksonville FOP Foundation account at BBVA Compass. Cuba was president of the FOP Foundation, as well.

...

Records show Cuba opened the FOP Foundation Inc. account four months earlier and was listed as the only signer. Six checks signed by Cuba were written to the BBVA Compass FOP Foundation account — three each in the amounts of \$90,000 and \$50,000. Checks were later written to several groups.”⁵⁹

Proving BBVA Compass' conscious involvement in the scandal on a local level is probably impossible. However, the existing facts allow us to make a few assumptions. We know that BBVA Compass housed Cuba and Freitas' money laundering accounts from Allied Veterans, even though the primary FOP Foundation accounts were at Bank of America. BBVA Compass (at the time just Compass Bank) heavily donated to Corey's 2008 campaign for State Attorney, making 15 separate donations totaling \$7469.13 starting in 2007.⁶⁰ If BBVA Compass' support for Corey was related to their principal business interest, namely banking, we would expect to see similar levels of support from other banks, including Bank of America, which also handles the FOP Foundation's primary bank account. The fact that no other financial institution donated to Corey anywhere near the scale and scope of BBVA Compass forces us to consider other reasons for their staggering support. The Allied Veterans/FOP racketeering investigation provides us with a possible explanation.

3. Jacksonville Sheriff's Office (JSO)

We cannot understand Angela Corey without understanding the police.

The Jacksonville Sheriff's Office (JSO) provided Corey's campaign with a staggering windfall of cash through direct contributions. For instance, 504 donors for Corey's 2008 campaign reported their address as 501 E. Bay Street, or some written variation of it – the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office building

⁵⁹ Marilyn Young, *Financial News & Daily Record*, “The Allied Veterans Case Against Nelson Cuba and Robbie Freitas,” March 10, 2014, http://www.jaxdailyrecord.com/showstory.php?Story_id=542415

⁶⁰ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 7/12/2014

downtown – with donations ranging from \$10 to \$500. These 504 donors – police officers, staff directly tied to the JSO, or family members – contributed a staggering \$53,655 to Corey's campaign.⁶¹ Of the 504 JSO donations, about 43.1% were in amounts of \$100 or more.⁶² In other words, at least 10% of the \$534,507.75 Corey raised in her 2008 campaign came from JSO officers, associates or families.⁶³ Because of problems with Florida Division of Elections data reporting requirements, which relies entirely on individuals and groups self-reporting important information like occupation or address, we should view these numbers as minimums – the “tip of the iceberg.”⁶⁴

Corey came to power pledging a new day of collaboration between the state attorney's office and law enforcement. During an August 2008 campaign rally at the Mandarin Community Center, she said, “I have a message for you from ... all the law enforcement officers in the 4th Circuit. They have asked you to make me your next state attorney.”⁶⁵ Whether her statement was hyperbole or not, Corey received overwhelming support, financially and socially, from Jacksonville's police. There is no question that police support won her the election.

But why would the police invest so much in a State Attorney candidate? In the Jacksonville Fraternal Order of Police's endorsement of Corey's 2008 campaign, then-president Nelson Cuba said, “We believe there needs to be a change in the culture of the State Attorney's office so there can be better communication.”⁶⁶

The State Attorney's office is charged with the prosecution of all crimes in a particular circuit. After the police make an arrest, the State Attorney determines whether or not the case moves forward. Additionally, the State Attorney's office can launch its own investigations of officers and individuals, which can lead to arrests and criminal charges.

Taken as a whole, the police have three major interests in putting a loyal foot soldier like Corey in the State Attorney's office:

- (1) Confidence that their investigations and arrests will be supported and harshly prosecuted by the State Attorney. This allows the police to exercise greater power on the streets because they can back up the threat of arrest, even an illegitimate arrest, with the credible threat of prosecution

⁶¹ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 7/12/2014. The \$53,655 number is derived from adding all contributions that listed their address as 501 E. Bay Street, which is the JSO building downtown. See Appendix A.

⁶² Ibid. The 43.1% statistic was derived from dividing the number of \$100 or greater contributions from the police (defined in footnote #61) by the total number of contributions from the police.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Thomas Ferguson, The Roosevelt Institute, “Party Competition and Industrial Structure in the 2012 Elections: Who’s Really Driving the Taxi to the Dark Side?,” October 21, 2013, <http://bit.ly/1quZqWH> - Ferguson points out a significant problem with campaign finance data, which the author of this current piece encountered in the research of Angela Corey's contributors. Ferguson writes, “*Perhaps the greatest data stumbling block, though, is the complexity of the contribution rosters. Investors who make multiple contributions rarely use exactly the same form of their name. Many maintain several different offices and residences in different parts of the country. When reporting contributions, they list first one and then the other in no consistent fashion. “Mr.” and “Mrs.,” and “Senior” and “Jr.” also flit back and forth like the Cheshire Cat. Hyphenated names bounce people into entirely different parts of the alphabet, depending on whether they use the hyphen or not. And so on.*”

⁶⁵ Paul Pinkham, *Florida Times-Union*, Law, legal circles take sides in contest; Both candidates for state attorney claim a leg up when it comes to meaningful endorsements,” August 17, 2008, Accessed using LexisNexis on 7/9/14.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

and jail time. By controlling the office of State Attorney, police cut out the middle-person between the point of arrest and the point of trial.

- (2) Protection from investigation or prosecution for police brutality. If the State Attorney is effectively controlled by the police, there is a low – almost zero – chance of that same State Attorney investigating the police for wrongdoing. This empowers the police to use increasingly brutal methods and resort to deadly force faster because they know that their actions will have very few, if any, consequences.
- (3) Protection from investigation or prosecution for unethical conduct or illegal activity. Corruption runs rampant throughout police forces across the United States, and Jacksonville is no exception. While the state attorney is not the only prosecutor that can launch investigations into police misconduct and corruption, police enjoys local protection if the state attorney's office will look the other way.

The bulk of the JSO's political activities are directed through the FOP. Thus, we will further examine the vested interest that the police had and continue to have in keeping Corey at the state attorney's office when we consider the FOP further below.

2. Real Estate & Commercial Developers

Although we discussed the Sleiman family's support for Corey and her mass incarceration regime, they are far from the only commercial and real estate developers invested in her as state attorney. Real estate and commercial developers, along with their contractors, gave Corey at least \$23,655.02 in total campaign contributions for the 2008 election.⁶⁷ This included Demetree Brothers, Inc. (\$500), Venture Development Realty Inc. (\$500), the PARC Group (\$500), SJ Timber Trading Company (\$500), Heritage Land Group (\$500), and Signature Land, Inc. (\$500) – in other words, developers as a whole – land, neighborhoods and subdivisions, commerce, etc. – supported Corey in 2008.

Using the same methodology (described in detail in Appendix B) to examine Corey's 2016 campaign contributors so far, we find an already staggering level of support. By September 5, 2015, real estate and commercial developers had already given Corey at least \$18,400.⁶⁸ With more than a year to go before the election, there is no doubt that this support from developers will only increase.

The sheer number of real estate and commercial developers that gave to Corey's 2008 campaign makes it nearly impossible to identify each individual or firm's particular interest in the State Attorney. Real estate and commercial developers in Jacksonville are not a monolithic group either, as the ongoing struggle between First Baptist Church and downtown developers demonstrates. Nevertheless, by looking at trends in Jacksonville since Corey took office in 2009, we can get an general idea of why so many developers financially back her mass incarceration regime.

In the last decade, developers have attempted several gentrification projects in and around Jacksonville's urban core – Riverside, Murray Hill, Springfield and Downtown being the four most well-known. Gentrification is a process, usually led by real estate and commercial developers, which

⁶⁷ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015. Methodology is described in detail in Appendix B.

⁶⁸ Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2016 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015. I used the same methodology described in Appendix B, including keywords and key phrases, to derive the \$18,400 number for Corey's 2016 campaign.

seeks to commercially develop areas and neighborhoods perceived to be deteriorated. Gentrification is a form of class war by the capitalist class that displaces poor and working class residents for the purpose of raising property values and clearing the way for businesses.

Gentrifying developers are not interested in solving the social and economic roots of crime, unemployment and deteriorating property in these communities. Their primary goal is to turn a profit by raising property values. To do this, developers rely heavily on the police to come in and “clear the slums” through threats, arrests, evictions, foreclosures, brutality and other methods. While this oftentimes violent process is framed in terms of promoting safety, the actual effect makes the community less safe for longtime residents, who face increased police repression and forced relocation due to rising rent costs.

In Downtown Jacksonville, this process is particularly acute. Developers have tried and failed for years to revive commerce in Downtown, as evidenced by abandoned buildings and nearly empty streets. The area, once the center of activity in Duval County, collapsed economically from white flight to the Southside in the 70s and 80s along with deliberate policies by local politicians to direct city funds away from projects that would benefit the city's African American community.

In 2012, IBM conducted a study on Jacksonville and made recommendations for redeveloping (i.e. gentrifying) Downtown and other areas. In the study, they recommended “[Erasing] the perception that crime starts downtown.”⁶⁹ Along with the expected recommendations for commercial development, the report also suggests “more visible police patrols” as a means of attracting investment back to Downtown.⁷⁰ Throughout the report, the authors repeatedly stress that changing people's perception of crime will aid in redevelopment efforts.

1. Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)

When she initially won the office of State Attorney in 2008, Corey received the endorsement of the Jacksonville Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), which is a labor organization for police officers and other agents of the criminal injustice system. With that endorsement, the FOP also donated \$500 to her campaign for the 2008 election.⁷¹ Disgraced former FOP president Nelson Cuba donated \$350 total, and then-vice president Robert 'Robbie' Freitas gave a sum total of \$425.⁷² All of this is in addition to the tens of thousands of dollars the FOP endorsement earned Corey from JSO officers in general.

It's crucial to understand that the FOP did not simply back Corey as their preferred candidate in the 2008 election. Instead, this was a long-term calculated move by the police to take over the State Attorney's office and insulate themselves from any scrutiny or indictments. The process that led to Corey winning and ushering in a new era of repression on Jacksonville's Black community began at least four years before the 2008 election.

⁶⁹ IBM Corporation, *IBM Smarter Cities Challenge*, 2012, “Jacksonville: Report,” http://downtownjacksonville.org/Libraries/PDF_Libraries/IBM_Smarter_Cities_Challenge_-_Jacksonville_Final_Report_1.sflb.ashx

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Paul Pinkham, *Florida Times-Union*, “Law, legal circles take sides in contest; Both candidates for state attorney claim a leg up when it comes to meaningful endorsements,” August 17, 2008, Accessed using LexisNexis on 7/9/14.

⁷² Florida Division of Elections, Campaign Contributions for: 2008 General Election, Angela Corey (REP), State Attorney, Accessed 9/5/2015.

In 2004, the Jacksonville Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) met with then-State Attorney Harry Shorstein about his re-election campaign. Their demand: designate Corey as his successor in 2008, and in exchange the police would back his re-election effort in 2004.⁷³ This secret meeting came to light in a deposition taken during a public records lawsuit that Corey filed in 2008 against Shorstein. According to Shorstein, “they [the FOP] wanted him to agree to step down and endorse Corey this year in exchange for the union's support in 2004, which he [allegedly] refused to do.”⁷⁴ However, Nelson Cuba, then-President of the FOP, claimed that “Shorstein requested the meeting before qualifying for the 2004 election to shore up union [FOP] support.”⁷⁵ Cuba further claimed at Shorstein offered to endorse Corey in 2008 in exchange for the FOP endorsement of his re-election campaign in 2004. While the particulars are in dispute, the fact is that the FOP had a long-term interest in seeing Corey become State Attorney in 2008.

Cuba's leadership of the FOP during this time was marked by venal corruption and racketeering. In March 2013, FOP president Nelson Cuba was arrested along with FOP vice president Robbie Freitas for their involvement in a racketeering scandal involving internet cafe gambling. Cuba and Freitas were involved heavily in the quasi-legal internet cafe gambling industry in Florida, from which a majority of revenue must go towards approved charities. The nominal charity recipient of these cafes, Allied Veterans of the World, donated less than 2% of its \$290 million revenues from these internet cafes.⁷⁶

Allied Veterans protected itself from legal troubles by involving the police directly in its laundering operations. Federal investigators wrote in a March 2013 affidavit, “Leadership at the Allied Veterans of the World used contacts and contributions to Jacksonville’s Fraternal Order of Police ‘to protect and promote itself’ as it operated an illegal gaming system.”⁷⁷ The affidavit also showed that Allied Veterans “gave \$90,000 over two years to the FOP Foundation, a nonprofit headed by police union president Nelson Cuba.”⁷⁸ These were made as tax-deductible legal contributions, and Cuba laundered nearly \$500,000 of Allied Veterans revenue illegally through other accounts, particularly at BBVA Compass – also massive financial supporters of Corey.

Cuba and Freitas were arrested after a four year federal investigation, which opened in 2009. Shortly after the investigation began, JSO Sheriff John Rutherford opened a similar investigation on the two FOP heads. At no point was the State Attorney, at the time Corey, involved in any investigations, nor did she open an accompanying investigation. Some commentators have noted that it took the Oklahoma Attorney General, rather than a close Corey associate like Florida Attorney General Pam Bondi, to execute search warrants and investigate Allied Veterans.⁷⁹ While no one has proven Corey or Bondi's involvement in the Allied Veterans laundering operation, one can still understand how the FOP would

⁷³ Paul Pinkham, *Florida Times-Union*, “2004 meeting on Shorstein successor aired in deposition; It was to set up Corey's run for state attorney in '08, all parties agree,” May 24, 2008, Accessed using LexisNexis on 7/9/14.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ United States District Court for the Western District of Oklahoma, March 11, 2013, “Application for a Search Warrant,” Accessed on *News4Jax* website, <http://www.news4jax.com/blob/view/-/19287096/data/2/-/hevyu/-/Allied-Veterans-search-warrant.pdf>

⁷⁷ Steve Patterson, Kate Howard Perry, *Florida Times-Union*, “FOP Foundation, Allied Veterans linked by \$90,000 in donations,” <http://bit.ly/TZUyhr>

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Peter Schorsch, *SaintPetersBlog*, “This picture may explain why it took the Okla. AG, and not Pam Bondi, to get to bottom of Jennifer Carroll story,” March 13, 2013, <http://www.saintpetersblog.com/archives/89501>

benefit from having a State Attorney who would not investigate allegations of police corruption.

Corey's close relationship with Cuba is well-known. Less well-known, however, is the direct ways in which Corey and others benefited from Allied Veterans. For her 2008 election, Corey received \$1,200 in campaign contributions from Allied Veterans and individuals arrested during the investigation.⁸⁰ Allied Veterans and connected individuals and businesses also donated to 15 of the 19 Jacksonville City Council members at the time, although they all received less than Corey.⁸¹

While many people call the FOP a union, the organization actually functions more like a criminal gang. Historically, the police have functioned as a tool for the ruling class to break strikes, repress unions, and terrorize the working class. The FOP bargains collectively for the economic interests of the police, but its most prominent function is to defend police from any state or community scrutiny. During this most recent wave of police crimes directed at African Americans, the FOP has opposed justice every step of the way and fought to keep killer cops on the force.⁸² Even within the labor movement, there is a growing opposition to the FOP and its sister organizations, the Police Benevolent Association (PBA) and the International Union of Police Associations (IUPA).⁸³

Corey owes her career to the Fraternal Order of Police, and she has delivered the goods. During her nearly seven years in office, she has never once indicted an officer for unlawful use of force. She has ruled every questionable police killing in north Florida “justifiable” under her regime.

On September 5, 2015, Corey doubled-down on this trend of defending the police at all costs by ruling the murder of 28 year old African American father D'Angelo Stallworth as “justifiable.” She cleared the cops despite evidence in the FDLE report on the case that strongly suggests the two white officers who killed D'Angelo lied about their stories.⁸⁴ Additional evidence, like an independent autopsy that showed the fatal bullets entering from D'Angelo's back as he ran the other way, was overlooked in favor of protecting the interests who put her in power. By putting Corey in power, the police and the corporate interests bought themselves free reign to terrorize the community with no consequences.

Corey's close ties with the FOP and Allied Veterans, and the effect this has on the Jacksonville community, makes them the most scandalous supporters of her mass incarceration regime.

⁸⁰ Matt Augustine, *WOKV News 104.5*, “Paper trail: Local officials who got campaign \$\$ from Allied Vets,” March 15, 2013, <http://bit.ly/1ljX7AS>

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Shawn Gude, *Jacobin*, January 2014, Issue 13, *Alive in the Sunshine Essays*, “The bad kind of unionism,” <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2014/01/the-bad-kind-of-unionism/>

⁸³ Shawn Gude, *Jacobin*, July 31, 2015, “Why we can't support police unions,” <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/07/black-lives-matter-patrick-lynch-ferguson/>

⁸⁴ Garrett Pelican, *First Coast News*, September 5, 2015, “JSO officers cleared in D'Angelo Stallworth's shooting,” <http://www.firstcoastnews.com/story/news/local/2015/09/04/state-attorney-clears-jso-officers--may-12-shooting--dangelo-stallworth/71717778/>

Building a Mass Movement against Mass Incarceration and Police Crimes

On August 9, 2014, the United States changed forever. 18 year old African American Michael Brown was killed in Ferguson, Missouri by Darren Wilson, a white police officer. Although Wilson claimed that he shot Brown because he “feared for his life,” Michael was completely unarmed. Adding insult to this horrific crime, the Ferguson police left Michael's body in the street for four hours.

Although Michael Brown was not the first African American killed by police even in 2014, the events in Ferguson sparked an uprising of Black youth that reverberated across the country. United by the slogan, “Black Lives Matter,” demonstrators of all nationalities, led mostly by Black youth, demanded justice for Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Reika Boyd, Sandra Bland, Walter Scott, Tamir Rice, and countless other victims of racist police crimes. The Black Lives Matter movement swept across the nation by storm as the largest mass upheaval since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

Like the rest of the country, the rampant police crimes committed against Blacks and Latinos grow out of a system of national oppression in the U.S. that has evolved over time. Slavery gave rise to Jim Crow, which itself gave rise to this new racist system of mass incarceration. This system relies on dehumanizing Black people and enforcing brutality on the population. In the past, slavers or Klansmen carried out this brutality. Today, the police are the primary enforcers.

The struggle against Angela Corey and her mass incarceration regime in north Florida is part of this nationwide uprising against police crimes. History shows that mass people's movements, rather than elections, are what bring freedom and progress. In Jacksonville, we need to raise a people's movement against Corey and the racist mass incarceration regime she heads.

To get involved in the Angela Corey Out NOW campaign or the struggle against police crimes, please contact the Jacksonville Progressive Coalition through our website:
<http://jacksonvilleprogressivecoalition.org>.

Appendix A – Statistical Calculations for Jacksonville Sheriff's Office Contributions to Angela Corey's 2008 Campaign

The \$53,655 total of campaign contributions made by JSO officers, their families, and their associates comes from the following methodology:

The Police Memorial Building, which houses the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office (JSO) in downtown, is located at 501 E. Bay Street. To avoid giving out their actual home addresses, law enforcement officers and certain politicians (like Angela Corey herself) have their addresses either redacted or listed as their place of employment.

In the case of JSO officers in 2008, I assume that most JSO officers who contributed to Corey's campaign listed 501 E. Bay Street as their address in the reporting process. This assumption is reasonable on the grounds that 504 individual contributions to Corey have their address listed as 501 E. Bay Street. Of the 504 individual contributions, the overwhelming majority list their occupation as "Law Enforcement" or obviously related occupations like "Probation Officer." Only a small amount (less than 30) of contributors with the above address listed unrelated occupations ("housewife") or nothing at all. In the case of occupations like "housewife," we can assume that these contributions come from families of JSO officers. Thus, the trend is significant enough to warrant the stated assumption.

First, I pulled all contributions with addresses listed at 501 E. Bay Street and separated them by amount, which I broke down in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Amount	10	12.5	20	25	30	35	50	62.5
Number	7	6	41	101	4	1	106	4

Amount	75	87.5	100	125	150	175	180	200
Number	7	10	75	7	18	36	1	15

Amount	225	250	300	350	400	480	500	N/A
Number	1	34	3	2	3	1	21	N/A

These numbers, when added, amount to \$53,655, which I list as the total amount of contributions coming from JSO officers, associates, or families.

Appendix B – Statistical Calculations for Real Estate and Commercial Developer Contributions to Angela Corey's 2008 Campaign

The \$23,655.02 total of campaign contributions by real estate and commercial developers, and their contractors, to Angela Corey in the 2008 election was derived using the following methodology:

First, I stress the point made by Thomas Ferguson's quote in footnote #64, which is that inaccurate or inconsistent reporting by contributors makes all of these numbers approximations. In all likelihood, they are lower than the actual total, which was also the case with the police contribution total. To illustrate why, I will use a hypothetical scenario. Say a real estate developer, who works from home and raises his/her kids, donates \$500 to a campaign. When asked to report their occupation to the Florida Division of Elections, this developer could easily list “homemaker.” Without knowing something additional about the particular donor, the person examining the campaign finance data will inadequately classify or misclassify that person as a “homemaker,” even though they are also a real estate developer. As a result, any data generated from this present study implicitly relies on reporting accuracy by the contributor, which may or may not be complete.

In order to get an approximation of the amount of money given by real estate and commercial developers to Corey's 2008 campaign, I relied almost entirely on the self-reported occupation field and generated my findings by searching for keywords. If keywords or key phrases are too specific, one risks overlooking important data. For this reason, I kept my keywords and key phrases descriptive but general.

I searched one keyword and one key phrase in an Excel spreadsheet of Corey's 2008 campaign contributors, which I accessed from the Florida Division of Elections website. For organizational purposes, I sorted the contributors by contribution amount (descending).

First, I searched “real estate” in the spreadsheet. This returned 44 hits. On a separate sheet, I recorded the number of each contribution amount out of the 44 contributors matching the keyword “real estate.” The table below (Table 1.1) breaks down the 44 contributors matching “real estate” by amount donated, with the number of contributors giving each amount listed below.

Table 2.1

Amount	500	458.82	350	326.8	250	200	100	75	50	25
Number	21	1	1	1	7	1	5	2	3	2

These numbers, when added, show that the 44 contributors matching the keyword “real estate” gave Corey a dollar total of \$14,435.62 during her 2008 campaign.

Second, I searched “develop” in the spreadsheet. This returned nearly as many hits as “real estate” did, but upon inspection, I realized that a number of contributors crossed over (i.e. if someone listed their occupation as “real estate developer,” they were already counted above). To avoid duplication, I took out all entries matching “real estate” and “develop” from the data, leaving me with only 29 contributors matching only “develop” and not “real estate.” The table below (Table 2.2) breaks down the 29

contributors matching “develop” by amount donated, with the number of contributors giving each amount listed below.

Table 2.2

Amount	500	394.4	250	200	150	100	75	25
Number	14	1	3	1	1	6	1	2

These numbers, when added, show that the 29 contributors matching the keyword “develop” and not matching the keyword “real estate” gave Corey a dollar total of \$9,219.40 during her 2008 campaign.

Third, I added the dollar total of contributors matching “real estate” - \$14,435 – and the dollar total of contributors matching “develop” but not matching “real estate” - \$9,219.40.

The sum total of both data sets is \$23,655.02.